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## Host community acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups; an evaluation of theoretical models, perspectives, and factors encouraging the development of multicultural societies

Carmen Vakis  
*Edith Cowan University*

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Host Community Acculturation Expectations toward Immigrant Groups; An Evaluation of  
Theoretical Models, Perspectives, and Factors Encouraging the Development of Multicultural  
Societies

Carmen Vakis

A report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Bachelor of Arts

Honours, Faculty of Computing, Health, and Science

Edith Cowan University.

October, 2008.

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Running Head: ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANT GROUPS

Theoretical Models and Perspectives of Host Community Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Carmen Vakis

A report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Bachelor of Arts

Honours, Faculty of Computing, Health, and Science

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## Abstract

The ability of immigrants to integrate into a new society is dependent on a number of factors including the strength of an immigrant's ethnic identity, willingness of the immigrant to accept the beliefs, values, and cultural practices of the host society, and attitudes of members of the host society toward immigrants. This paper reviews research on attitudes toward immigration, in relation to theoretical approaches including Berry's (2003) model of acculturation expectations. Factors discussed throughout this review as contributing to host community acceptance of immigrants include cultural awareness and understanding, preconceived misconceptions and stereotypes, and perceptions of threat to resources and quality of life. Existing research literature has depicted the existence of an ethnic hierarchy, which portrays a preference by host community members for particular immigrant groups over others. The presence of this hierarchy has been attributed to an ingroup preference for the integration of immigrant groups considered to be more culturally similar to the host community. It is concluded that future research should investigate ways of improving attitudes and subsequent relationships between host community members and immigrants in order to promote policies and practices that strive to establish multicultural societies.

Author: Carmen Vakis

Supervisor: Dr Justine Dandy

Submitted: August, 2008

### Theoretical Models and Perspectives of Host Community Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Immigration is a social process that has occurred throughout history, involving the movement of people from one country to another (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). The study of immigration has been rooted in many disciplines including anthropology, political science, sociology, and psychology (Berry, 2001). A focus on immigration within psychological research has contributed to policy development and management of intergroup relations between the host community and immigrant groups in culturally plural societies (Aboud & Levy, 1999). The decision to immigrate is influenced by a variety of factors including employment opportunities, population imbalances, natural disasters, and political unrest (Faist, 2000). Although beneficial to both immigrant and host community group(s), immigration has sometimes been associated with negative attitudes by host community members (Stephan et al., 2005). These attitudes may result in hostility and discrimination toward immigrant group(s) (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Scharzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998).

Theoretical models investigating the development of interethnic relations between the dominant host community and immigrant group(s) include those of psychological acculturation, which can be defined as the process where two or more cultural groups experience change in cultural practices as a result of contact experienced between members of each group (Rohmann, Piontkowski, & Randenborgh, 2008). A dominant group refers to the cultural group that has the most economic, political and social power within society (Epenshade & Hempstead, 1996). Two factors have been identified as important when attempting to create positive interethnic relations (between the dominant host community and the immigrant group). These factors are; ethnic identity, which is the immigrant's identification with their cultural heritage, and national identity, which is the identification with the larger or more dominant cultural group in the new society

(Rohmann et al., 2008). In highly homogeneous societies this differentiation may not be possible as national identity may also be an ethnic identity (Verkuyten, 2003).

Existing research literature has outlined the complexity of host community attitudes toward immigration (Stratton & Ang, 1994). These complexities are believed to arise from factors including socio-economic status, emotional reactions and beliefs related to personality traits and values of immigrants, and perceptions of relative threat that immigrants pose to ingroup members and their quality of life (Callan, 1983). This review critically examines research literature pertaining to dominant host community attitudes toward immigration and factors influencing these attitudes, in order to accentuate gaps and variation within the existing body of research literature. Before critically examining specific factors and theoretical frameworks that influence attitudes toward immigration, including those associated with perceptions of threat, empathy, and adjustment (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998), the review identifies common theoretical approaches to examining attitudes toward immigration. The review concludes by providing a summary of research findings, identifying specific areas for future research, and discussing the applications and implications of research findings for creating approaches that encourage positive attitudes toward immigration.

### Acculturation

Acculturation refers to cultural changes that occur when two or more culturally different groups are in continuous first-hand contact with each other (Berry, 1997), resulting in changes of the original cultural patterns of one or both groups (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Originally acculturation was identified as a group phenomenon, defined by its ability to change the culture of a group (Graves, 1967). However, through further examination of the concept of acculturation, it was also recognised as an individual phenomenon (Berry et al., 1987), coined psychological

acculturation (Graves, 1967). Psychological acculturation was further defined as physical, biological, cultural, social, and behavioural changes in individuals resulting from acculturation of their cultural group (Berry et al., 1987).

Early research examining patterns of social adaptation and change between two culturally different groups has predominantly compared acculturation attitudes and behaviours of the dominant host majority with members of a native community group (Berry, 1970; Sommerlad & Berry, 1970). These research studies were conducted before the development of models of acculturation, instead utilising Gordon's (1964) seven sub-processes of assimilation and Jacoby's (1962) work on social integration as a facet of assimilation to examine individual attitudes toward social change (Berry 1970; Sommerlad & Berry 1970). The process of integration may be defined as an interaction between the host community and immigrant group that precipitates a change in cultural amalgam without individual loss of cultural identity (London, 1967). Alternatively assimilation is more of a unilateral process, whereby the immigrant group is expected to change their identity, minimising differences between the host community and immigrant group (Sommerlad & Berry, 1970).

Gordon (1964) emphasised the complexity of the assimilation process, suggesting that individuals would encounter each of the seven sub-processes of assimilation; behavioural, structural, amalgamation through inter-marriage, identification with the host society, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, and civic assimilation through absence of power conflict. Individuals were expected to encounter each of the processes of assimilation to varying degrees, depending on factors including interaction with the new cultural group, individual predisposition, and societal influences (Sommerlad & Berry, 1970). According to Gordon (1964), behavioural assimilation refers to the extent that the immigrant group absorbs the cultural practices of the host community. Structural assimilation is defined as an immigrant's ability to assimilate into the

structural and occupational structure of the host society. Gordon (1964) believed that once structural assimilation has occurred all other sub-processes would automatically follow.

Alternatively, social integration (Jacoby, 1962) emphasised the importance of mutual contact and adjustment between cultural groups in order to avoid loss of cultural identity by individual members of either group (Berry, 1990).

Sommerlad and Berry (1970) argued that individuals who confidently identify with their own cultural group were more likely to exhibit favourable attitudes toward integration. Conversely, individuals who identify better with the dominant host society were expected to exhibit favourable attitudes toward assimilation (Sommerlad & Berry, 1970). To examine both the attitudes and personal identity of ethnic group(s), Sommerlad and Berry (1970) administered an identification questionnaire to a group of 110 Indigenous Australians from both urban and rural communities.

The results of Sommerlad and Berry's (1970) research study were consistent with their hypotheses, depicting a negative correlation between both identification and assimilation and identification and integration. Sommerlad and Berry (1970) concluded that Indigenous Australians favouring assimilation depicted a greater desire for acculturation and absorption into the dominant community through amalgamation than those who favoured integration. It is this initial research study that contributed to the development of Berry et al's. (1987) model of acculturation expectations (Berry, 1970; Sommerlad & Berry, 1970). This model was developed to examine the extent that assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation would interact and affect acculturation expectations of both minority and dominant cultural groups, accounting for individual differences affecting people's reactions toward the acculturation process (Berry, Trimble, & Olmeda, 1986).

*Acculturation Expectations*

According to Berry's (1974) approach, there are two main dimensions, termed acculturation strategies, which determine how individuals belonging to host community and immigrant cultural groups decide to acculturate (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). Cultural maintenance refers to the relative strength and ability of an individual to maintain sufficient identification with their ethnic heritage (Kosic, Mannetti, & Sam, 2005). The cultural contact and participation strategy refers to the strength of willingness of the host community and the immigrant group to become involved in the cultural practices of the other cultural group (Kosic et al., 2005). Individual attitudes and behaviours relating to these two acculturation strategies form part of a multicultural ideology (Berry, 2001), that suggests how one cultural group expects other group(s) to acculturate (Berry, 2003). Existing research literature has defined four possible acculturation expectations; assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation (Berry et al., 1989).

Assimilation is defined as occurring when immigrants wish to sacrifice their cultural heritage in exchange for interaction with another culture, usually that of the dominant group (Berry, 2005). Alternatively, if the immigrant group wishes to maintain their cultural heritage, preferring to avoid contact with members of other cultural groups (Berry, 2005), the separation expectation is endorsed. Integration is depicted by an immigrant's desire to maintain their cultural heritage whilst engaging in interaction(s) with other cultural groups (Berry, 2005). Marginalisation occurs when immigrants have no desire to engage in relations with others and little interest in maintaining their own cultural heritage (Berry, 2005). Marginalisation is not always classified as an acculturation strategy, as it can be forced upon immigrants by members of the dominant host society (Berry, 2005).



Previous research has acknowledged that strategies of acculturation do not occur in a vacuum. They are subject to the accommodation and expectations of the dominant, receiving or 'host' society (Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 2003), resulting in the conceptualisation of acculturation expectations in terms of the dominant cultural group (Berry, 1974; Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Senecal, 1997). Assimilation is defined as 'melting pot' when sought by the non-dominant group, separation when desired by the dominant group becomes 'segregation', marginalisation when imposed by the dominant group becomes 'exclusion', and integration is termed 'multiculturalism' when all ethnocultural groups are included, making cultural diversity a feature of society as a whole (Berry, 1974).

#### *Interactive Acculturation Model*

An alternative model of acculturation known as the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) emphasises the intergroup nature of acculturation (Liebkind, 2001); depicting relational outcomes between immigrant and host majority groups as situated on a continuum, ranging from pleasant to problematic (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Bourhis et al.'s. (1997) IAM emerged out of a perceived gap within Berry et al.'s. (1987) model of acculturation expectations, that according to Bourhis et al. (1997), neglected to examine dominant and minority group attitudes and their subsequent interaction in terms of relational outcomes of harmony, difficulty, and/or conflict between immigrant group(s) and the dominant host community (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Initial research studies using the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997) found a difference in host community acculturation orientations toward immigrant groups of differing countries of origin, providing evidence to suggest that host community acculturation orientations vary depending on the target group (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998).

The IAM focuses on three main components of acculturation. These components are the acculturation orientations of the immigrant group, acculturation orientations of the host majority

toward specific immigrant groups, and intergroup relational outcomes that develop as a consequence of initial acculturation orientations from both immigrant and host majority groups (Bourhis et al., 1997). The three components of acculturation proposed by the IAM may be examined using five acculturation orientations: integration, individualism, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The acculturation orientations of integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation may be defined according to the previously defined terms used in Berry et al.'s (1987) model of acculturation expectations. The individualism orientation depicts the host majority's ability to define themselves and others as individuals, instead of members of group categories, such as an immigrant or host community groups (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The ability of an immigrant to maintain their cultural heritage and/or adopt the cultural practices of the host community is of little importance to an individualist, who considers only personal characteristics and achievements as integral when interacting with immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). By neglecting to consider group influences, individualists tend to interact with immigrants in the same manner as they would with members of the host community (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

Using the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997), Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) examined the internal validity and reliability of the five proposed acculturation orientations of integration, individualism, assimilation, segregation, and exclusion. The results of Montreuil and Bourhis's (2001) research study yielded consistent findings in relation to preference for particular acculturation orientations over others, dependent upon individual and societal influences of immigrant and majority group cultures (Berry et al., 1989). Furthermore, Montreuil and Bourhis's (2001) research study provided support for the valued/devalued target group hypothesis proposed by the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997), suggesting that host community acculturation orientations differ according to an immigrant group's classification as 'valued' or 'devalued' (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Montreuil and

Bourhis (2001) suggested host community acculturation orientations toward 'valued' immigrants, that is, groups that appear to be culturally and linguistically similar to the dominant group, would be more favourable than acculturation orientations toward 'devalued' immigrant groups, who are considered to have few cultural similarities to the dominant group (Piontkowski, Florak, Hoelker, & Obdrzakek, 2000).

Contrary to proposing that immigrants may be classified into either 'valued' or 'devalued' target groups, is the suggestion that all immigrants experience virtually the same acculturation orientations due to their generic classification by members of the dominant host community as 'newcomers' (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). Essentially, the out-group homogeneity effect responsible for such suggestions depicts a tendency for people to act more favourably toward members of their own group (in-group) than toward members of other groups (out-groups), as well as perceiving members of these out-groups as more similar to each other than to the in-group (Tajfel, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The out-group homogeneity effect has predominantly been examined in artificial research settings, such as laboratory settings (Simon & Brown, 1987). However, the ability of this approach to enable immigrants to be regarded as the same by members of the dominant host community, with no regard for actual differences caused by country of origin influences, may provide an alternative to the IAM's valued/devalued target group hypothesis (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992).

The models of acculturation described by Berry et al. (1987) and Bourhis et al. (1997), although different in their structure, are both integral to the examination of intergroup attitudes between host majority and immigrant groups (Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000). Both of these models aim to examine the ability of immigrants and members of the host majority to accept and adapt to new cultural practices (Berry et al., 1987; Bourhis et al., 1997; Maio, Esses, & Bell, 1994). Furthermore, these models possess an ideological value by providing a framework to

predict the future complexion of society through the education and encouragement of individuals to exhibit positive integrationist attitudes (Martin, 1978; Maio et al., 1994) toward cultural groups different to their own.

### *Criticisms of Acculturation Models*

Although dominant in the literature, both the model of acculturation expectations (Berry et al., 1987) and the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997) have been criticized (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). For example, Rudmin (2003) suggested that the acculturation process is complicated and has more outcomes than simplified four and five factor models of acculturation depicted by these two theories (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). The concept that immigrants may keep or abandon their own cultural identity at the expense of accepting the cultural identity of the host majority was rejected by Rudmin (2003), who suggested that four generic forms of acculturation inadequately represent how individuals accept and/or adapt to new cultural beliefs, values, and practices (Rudmin, Trimpop, Kryl, & Boski, 1987).

Fourfold acculturation models have also been identified as being ambiguous, ineffective when explaining individual differences in acculturation expectations within groups, and lacking both explanatory force and predictive power (Escobar & Vega, 2000). These criticisms have emerged from the acculturation models' focus on the four factors of language, culture, friends, and social groups (Rudmin, 2003). Critics of these models suggested that expanding their focus to include factors such as subcultures, dominant group attitudes, and/or acquisition of cultural skills would increase psychological and cultural content of acculturation models, enhancing their effectiveness in determining and explaining host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups (Rudmin & Ahmadzedah, 2001).

### Intergroup Relations and Threat

Attitudes toward immigrants may be defined as ambivalent in nature (Katz & Hass, 1988), arising from their ability to contain both negative and positive behavioural elements (Maio, Bell, & Esses, 1996; Pratto & Lemieux, 2001; Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995). The tendency of dominant group members to simultaneously dislike and like (Maio et al., 1996) individuals from immigrant groups emerged from observations of attitudes of 'white' Americans toward African-Americans, which depicted pre-existing negative attitudes as well as new-found sympathy (Katz & Hass, 1988). Using a sample of 113 undergraduate university students, Maio et al. (1996) examined the effect of ambivalence upon the attitudes of the Canadian host majority toward 'Oriental' people (Asian). Maio et al. (1996) measured participants' ambivalence both before and after they had been presented with a strong or weak persuasive message favouring immigration of people from Hong Kong.

Maio et al.'s. (1996) study demonstrated that participants within the ambivalent situation were more likely to systematically process messages, whereas participants in the non-ambivalent situation utilised pre-existing cues to form attitudes toward 'Oriental' people. Maio et al. (1996) suggested that ambivalence may motivate members of the dominant group to attend to new information regarding minority group(s) more objectively (Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, & Moore, 1992), reducing the tendency to form attitudes toward minority group(s) based upon persuasive messages from sources including the media (Dunn, 2004), and special interest groups (Palmer, 1994).

The intergroup identity model (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996) suggested that to reduce tensions associated with intergroup relations, individuals need to approach group membership with immigrant groups in a generalised and inclusive manner (Esses et al., 1998), rather than utilising an 'us' versus 'them' mentality. Using a sample from the San Francisco Bay

Area, Pratto and Lemieux (2001) examined the social psychological meaning of immigration and the implication(s) of ambiguity upon immigration discourse and policies. Providing further support for Maio et al.'s. (1996) research study, Pratto and Lemieux (2001) found attitudes toward immigration could be manipulated in ambiguous situations using strong persuasive discourse, allowing immigration to be constructed as either an opportunity for group inclusion or the development of group threat (Esses et al., 1998).

Immigration to Australia over the years has reflected a significant shift in immigration policy (Ho, 1987), which has become more relaxed and inclusive, reflected by the influx of immigrants into Australia (Betts, 2005) from a vast range of countries and cultural backgrounds. Public opinion relating to immigration within Australia is varied (Ho, 1987), confounded by suggestions that individual attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are oversimplified and founded on misconceptions of immigrant characteristics (Shergold, 1984).

Using a sample of 143 Australian born full-time university students, Ho (1987) examined public opinion toward immigrants and immigration in Australia, in particular investigating the influence of perceived threat to employment upon acceptance of immigrants. Ho (1987) examined whether public opinion of immigrants within Australia was reflective of current government policy. Ho's (1987) study focused on the influence that preferential treatment toward immigrants with family residing in Australia, immigration resulting from humanitarian reasons, and immigrants who had an occupation prior to entering Australia would have upon the development of public opinion (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1985).

The results of Ho's (1987) study depicted no significance in the relationship between host majority's negative attitudes toward immigrants and the ethnicity of the immigrant group. However, Ho (1987) did not believe a relationship between these factors did not exist, suggesting its failure to be observed was due to the influence of social desirability (Sigall & Page, 1971).

When examining the influence of competition for employment opportunities upon attitudes toward immigrants, Ho's (1987) study yielded inconsistent results. Although a negative correlation was found, the nature of the study made it impossible to determine the existence of a direct causal relationship, suggesting that perceived threat of employment may be one of a number of contributing factors that influence host community attitudes toward immigrants (Ho, 1987; Betts, 2005). Ho (1987) suggested that a host majority desire to reduce the number of immigrants into Australia emerges out of a belief that immigrants may reduce employment opportunities of Australian residents in the future. It may be suggested that host community individuals are less accepting and accommodating toward immigrants out of a perception of threat to their resources and way of life in the future, believing that reducing the number of immigrants into Australia in the present will protect future economic prospects (Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1978).

### *Empowerment*

Modern or 'new' forms of racism have a tendency to perceive outgroup members, such as immigrants, ethnic minorities, and those belonging to certain religious affiliations as threats to the cultural values and integrity of society (McGuinness, 2000; Jayasuriya, 2002). These perceptions of outgroup competition may contribute to ingroup tension, limiting support from ingroup members to help immigrants adapt to the cultural values and practices of the new society (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998).

Jackson and Esses (2000) hypothesised that forms of assistance from the ingroup toward outgroup members such as empowerment would be less likely to be endorsed if ingroup members felt threatened. Jackson and Esses (2000) suggested that this would occur out of a desire for ingroup members to retain perceived social dominance. Empowerment has been defined as a form of compensatory helping that attempts to help others help themselves by removing barriers to success, such as helping immigrants overcome language barriers when seeking employment

(Brickman, Rabinowitz, Karma, Coatis, Con, & Kidder, 1982). Jackson and Esses (2000) randomly assigned participants to read one of two articles regarding immigrants, one concerned with economic competition and the other a control. After reading the article, 64 undergraduate university participants completed a questionnaire, which included questions from the intergroup helping scale (Jackson & Esses, 2000).

The results of Jackson and Esses's (2000) study provided support for their hypothesis that perceived competition negatively affects individuals' willingness to assist immigrants through empowerment. Jackson and Esses (2000) suggested that reluctance to help outgroup members emerges out of a desire to maintain social dominance that may not be possible when endorsing assisting behaviour(s) such as empowerment, which equalises power relations between groups (Beck & Tolnay, 1990).

#### *Perceived Intergroup Threat*

Fear and the perception of threat from the dominant host community toward members of immigrant groups are influential upon prejudice toward immigrants (Stephan et al., 2005). Perceived threat may precede and/or influence attitudes between the dominant and immigrant groups, and develop as a result of inadequate or unsatisfying intergroup interactions (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). Stephan and Stephan (2000) proposed a model of threat known as the integrated threat theory model. This model comprises of four components, these being: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes.

Realistic threat occurs out of a perceived threat to the economic and political power of the ingroup (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976), and the subsequent well-being of individuals belonging to the ingroup (Bobo, 1988). Symbolic threat may be defined as a threat to the ingroup's worldview (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993), encompassing threats resulting from group differences in values, beliefs, morals, and attitudes (Stephan et al., 2005) between the dominant host community



and the immigrant group. Intergroup anxiety occurs when individuals feel threatened in intergroup interactions out of fear of negative results (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) such as embarrassment or rejection (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Negative stereotypes concerning particular outgroups, such as immigrant groups, can create fear and anticipated threat within the dominant host community from negative expectations of outgroup behaviour (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Stephan et al., 2005).

Stephan et al. (2005) examined the effect(s) of both realistic and symbolic threat upon prejudice, hypothesising that ingroup members who feel threatened by individuals belonging to an outgroup would portray negative attitudes toward members of the outgroup. In order to examine and compare the effect(s) of both realistic and symbolic threat, Stephan et al. (2005) presented 88 undergraduate psychology students with articles of imminent immigration from members of a small Rwandan tribe, chosen because of participants' limited real-life contact with this specific group. Perceived threat was manipulated in Stephan et al.'s. (2005) study by presenting participants with one of four versions of a newspaper article, portraying members of the Rwandan tribe as a realistic threat, symbolic threat, a mixture of realistic and symbolic threats, or no real threat to the host community.

Stephan et al.'s. (2005) research results depicted a marginally significant increase in prejudice toward immigrants with regards to symbolic threat but no significant increase in the realistic threat scenario, although a significant interaction between symbolic threat, realistic threat, and increased attitudes of prejudice was evident. From this interaction, Stephan et al. (2005) suggested that individual perceptions of outgroup threat play a causal role in the formation of negative attitudes toward immigrants. However, a combination of realistic and symbolic threat (Stephan et al., 2005), that is, threat to an individual's worldviews, economic, political, and personal well-being is necessary to create adequate perceptions of threat that may increase the

likelihood that host community members will endorse negative attitudes toward immigrant groups (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

An alternative model of threat to Stephan and Stephan's (2000) integrated threat model is realistic group conflict theory (Esses et al., 1998), which defines prejudice between groups as resulting from conflict between the groups. According to realistic group conflict theory (Esses et al., 1998), conflict occurs out of actual or perceived competition for scarce resources, which increases both as the benefits of succeeding become more appealing (Brown, 1995) and the proximity of contact between members of the ingroup and outgroup increases (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972). Using realistic group conflict theory, Esses et al. (1998) proposed the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, suggesting that perceived group competition emerges out of a combination of resource stress and threat to the dominant groups' quality of life (Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996). It is based on the perception that particular resources within society are limited for certain groups, particularly from potentially competitive outgroups (Esses et al., 1998). As the perception of group competition increases, so too does ingroup perceptions of limited access to resources, economic depression, and decreased power (Smith & Tyler, 1996), thus encouraging ingroup members to seek strategies to remove sources of competitive threat.

Using the proposed Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998) as a theoretical framework, Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, and Armstrong (2001) examined host community attitudes toward immigrants after being presented with a short editorial outlining the success of a particular immigrant group, either generally or in relation to employment in skilled positions. Esses et al.'s (2001) research results depicted a general consensus amongst participants that skilled immigrants seeking employment in a difficult and limited employment sector would result in a significant decrease in employment opportunities for members of the dominant host community. Furthermore, the presence of perceived threat was evident in the control condition of Esses et al.'s.

(2001) research study, in which participants were presented with positive information regarding characteristics of immigrants such as their hard-working nature and strong family orientation. Participants in Esses et al.'s (2001) study interpreted these positive characteristics to mean that immigrants work to the exclusion of others, endeavouring to benefit only themselves and their immediate family (Esses, Jackson, Nolan, & Armstrong, 1999). When interpreting the results of Esses et al.'s (2001) research study it may be suggested that members of the dominant host community are reluctant to endorse positive attitudes, beliefs, and characteristics toward immigrants for fear that consequently it may empower immigrants at the risk of the dominant group's own success (Altemeyer, 1996).

### Essentialism and Ethnic Hierarchy

Implicit Person Theory (IPT) is as an important tool for studying social identity and its influence upon certain attitudes and behaviours (Levy, Plaks, Hong, Chiu, & Dweck, 2001). Hong, Levy, and Chiu (2001) used IPT and social identity approaches simultaneously as a way of deciphering intergroup judgement, suggesting that bias such as stereotyping emerges out of a socially endorsed belief that personal attributes, and therefore group characteristics are fixed (Bastian & Haslam, 2008). It is this portrayal of personal attributes that is believed to be responsible for prejudice toward an outgroup, explained by a reluctance of an ingroup to override existing inclusive group identity to form an objective view of a social group (Hong et al., 2001). Bastian and Haslam (2008) attempted to expand upon Hong et al.'s. (2001) research findings by investigating the relationship between social identity and essentialist beliefs and their influence upon personal attributes. Bastian and Haslam (2008) hypothesised that a relationship would exist between essentialist beliefs, acculturation attitudes, and intergroup measures of personal attributes.

In order to test their hypothesis, Bastian and Haslam (2008) administered a questionnaire containing a number of essentialist items to a group of Australian-born undergraduate university students. By manipulating the national identity of both Australian citizens and immigrant groups, Bastian and Haslam (2008) depicted the importance of national identity, portraying host community citizens as less likely to accommodate immigrants whose noticeable difference in aspects of national identity may be viewed as threatening to the host community's national traditions and self-sufficiency (Lam, Chiu, Lau, Chan, & Yim, 2006). Bastian and Haslam's (2008) research results provide evidence to suggest that ingroups will view relationships with outgroup members as socially undesirable. This may be attributed to the high degree of difference between groups, which is influenced by the belief that personal attributes are biologically and socially fixed, negatively impacting ingroup decisions to be socially accepting toward new groups of immigrants (Lam et al., 2006).

### *Social Dominance*

The relationship between immigrants and the host society may also be explained in terms of social dominance theory (Pratto and Lemieux, 2001), which collectively examines an individual's tendency for prejudice and discrimination toward a minority ethnic group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The concept of social dominance is defined as a desire for members of a particular social group to dominate and subordinate cultural group(s) they believe to be inferior (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Individuals with low social dominance orientation are generally empathetic and tolerant toward all members of society, believing that everyone should be treated as equals (Pratto, Tartar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999), whereas individuals with high social dominance orientation believe in the inferiority of some ethnic groups as necessary to maintain balance within society (Sidanius, Levin, Liu, Pratto, 2000).

Danso, Sedlovskaya, and Suanda (2007) proposed that reducing negative group sentiments toward immigrant groups may result in reduced prejudice and reallocation of group boundaries to be more inclusive toward smaller ethnic groups. Danso et al. (2007) hypothesised that this may be achieved through a less competitively focused attention toward these groups or by attempting to partially or completely redirect individual attentions. In order to test this hypothesis, Danso et al. (2007) administered a questionnaire to 29 university student participants, containing a number of attitude measures as well as an individually focused manipulation that was administered to a third of the participants. Although limited by the size of their sample, Danso et al.'s. (2007) study showed that a focus on individual identity successfully decreases the strength of the relationship between high social dominance and unfavourable attitudes toward groups considered to be inferior. Furthermore, these results imply that by de-emphasising the sentiments of the dominant group, individuals with high social dominance orientation belonging to this group may subsequently exhibit more accommodating attitudes toward minority groups (Danso et al., 2007; Johnson, 2002).

### *Empathy*

Much of the existing research literature examining methods of counteracting discrimination and stereotyping of outgroups has attempted to improve intergroup relations through multicultural education and awareness of the cultural practices and values of the outgroup (Byrnes & Kiger, 1990, Weiner & Wright, 1973). As the success of this approach and subsequent educational programs has been limited (McGregor, 1993), alternative methods to improving intergroup relations, such as the role of empathy, have been examined (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). Empathy is comprised of a cognitive element that investigates the perspective of an individual or group and an emotional element that examines emotional reactions to others (Duan & Hill, 1996). Existing research literature has shown the ability of empathy to elicit affective reactions toward outgroup

members when engaging in active cooperative-learning activities such as role-playing (McGregor, 1993; Smith, 1990). These responses have contributed to host community members experiencing dissonance between current and previous attitudes and behaviours, consequently motivating them to modify negative attitudes toward outgroups (Smith, 1990).

Using a sample of 141 Anglo-American university undergraduate students, Finlay and Stephan (2000) attempted to further investigate the influence of empathy upon host community attitudes toward immigrants. Finlay and Stephan (2000) used measures of both reactive (e.g., compassion and sympathy) and parallel (e.g., hopelessness and anger) empathy, investigating their influence upon intergroup affect, cognition, and contextual evaluations. Finlay and Stephan (2000) investigated the influence of empathy in a non-active setting, which was maintained by administering participants a set of written scenarios to which they were required to respond.

The results of Finlay and Stephan's (2000) research study showed only parallel forms of empathy affected ingroup behaviour toward immigrants, suggesting that ingroup attitudes are based upon aroused feelings of injustice toward immigrant groups rather than compassion, sympathy, and understanding for immigrants. Finlay and Stephan (2000) suggested that the scenarios presented to participants in their research study elicited empathic responses to immigrant suffering; prompting change and reappraisal of outgroup affect, cognition, and evaluations in order to maintain the perception of a just world (Batson et al., 1997). Finlay and Stephan (2000) emphasised the complexity of the role of empathy in intergroup relations, through its ability to mediate attitudes and behaviours toward stigmatized outgroups (Love & Greenwald, 1978). The ability to decrease the difference between ingroup and outgroup attitudes makes empathy an important factor for improving intergroup relations and an area for future research with host community and immigrant populations (Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Finlay & Trafimow, 1998).

*Ethnic Hierarchy*

When examining host community attitudes toward immigrants, existing literature has depicted a preferential hierarchy for some ethnic minorities over others (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Such hierarchies are believed to be determined by factors including an immigrant group's similarity to the dominant host culture and their perceived capacity to integrate into the new culture (Callan, 1983). Early research using a Canadian sample found that although the majority of host community citizens did not encourage the general process of immigration (Simon & Lynch, 1999), immigrants from Western and Northern European countries were viewed more positively by individuals from the host majority than immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe or from non-European backgrounds (Berry & Kalin, 1995). These hierarchies have been explained using a consensual hierarchy that exists beyond own-group attitudes, emphasising whether information regarding particular immigrant groups is of value to the host society (Berry & Kalin, 1995). It has been suggested that immigrant groups who have been accepted and established within the host society, such as French-speaking Canadians in Canada (Kalin & Berry, 1996), are less accommodating toward immigrant groups as they feel new immigrants may threaten their way of life, undermining their place within the host society (Bourhis, 1994).

Although more recent research findings have depicted a decrease in opposition toward immigration in Australia (Betts, 2005), statistics taken from both Australian Election Studies (AES) and the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA), have shown various patterns of preference of immigrants to Australia (Betts, 2005). Not only does a preferential hierarchy of immigrant groups exist, but there also appears to be a preference from overseas-born Australian citizens for immigrants from their own country of origin (Betts, 2005). For example, Asian-born Australians were twice as likely to suggest that Australia should accept more Asian immigrants (Betts, 2005). This pattern of preferential treatment has been explained by a need for Australian

citizens born outside of Australia to justify their own immigration, as well as feeling accepted by members of the host community (Betts, 2005). Allowing further immigration of people from the same country of origin as existing immigrants will help them feel their ethnic group is accepted and valued by the host culture, thus enabling them to comfortably integrate into the host community (Birrell, 1984).

Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, and McDonald (2004) administered surveys relating to attitudes toward different immigrant groups into Australia to a sample of 5,056 individuals residing in New South Wales and Queensland. Dunn et al. (2004) examined whether an ethnic hierarchy of immigrant preference existed in Australia. The results this research showed that the majority of participants had a preference for the immigration of particular ethnic groups within Australia (Dunn et al., 2004). Dunn et al. (2004) found this perception to be more prominent in people over the age of 65 and those who were identified as having limited tertiary education. Although males were generally found to exhibit tolerant attitudes toward immigrants, they also depicted the highest opposition to marriage between Australian-born individuals and individuals from immigrant groups (Dunn et al., 2004). Dunn et al. (2004) suggested that racial discrimination emerges out of an ideology of separate and distinct racial groups (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). This ideology is sustained and embedded into people's belief systems by exclusionary articulations of national identity by public figures including politicians and community leaders (Miles, 1989), and emotive portrayals of specific cultural groups by sources such as the media (Dunn et al., 2004).

### Implications of Research Findings

The existing body of research examining intergroup relations between host community and immigrant groups and subsequent host community attitudes toward immigrants, has revealed the complex nature of these intergroup relations. Host community attitudes toward immigrants do not



occur in a vacuum, with the accommodation and expectations of immigrant groups from the dominant, receiving or 'host' society influenced by time-dependent factors such as economic stability, political power, and availability and strength of resources. The nature of individual's attitudes, which are shaped through experience, social influences, and political influences, and are subject to time-dependent changes, may limit a study's ability to provide an externally valid account of host community attitudes toward immigrants.

There appears to be a number of factors contributing to host community attitudes, emerging out of perceptions of threat, misconceptions of cultural beliefs and values of the immigrant group, and external influences including the media and stereotyping from high status individuals within the host community. Although the presence of each of these influences is well supported through the literature, conflicting findings pertaining to these influences is evident. For instance, Stephan et al. (2005) attributed both realistic and symbolic forms of threat as responsible for host community attitudes toward immigrants, without acknowledging the influence of factors including cultural beliefs, social interaction, and stereotypes as contributing to these attitudes.

It is important to increase understanding of host community reluctance for integration of immigrants through future research that; replicates research studies using different host community samples, examines factors contributing to host community attitudes, further examines intergroup relations between the host community and immigrant groups, and comparing these intergroup relations with specific immigrant groups. Although it is difficult to determine the extent that factors such as perceived threat, empathy, and perceived competition for resources influences host community attitudes toward immigrant groups, it is important to increase understanding of why host community members may be reluctant to accept certain immigrant groups into society. The concept of an ethnic hierarchy, whereby certain immigrant groups are favoured over others has been well supported through the literature, although the majority of these studies have

neglected to examine why this hierarchy exists. A more complete understanding of this hierarchy may be obtained through further examination of host community attitudes toward particular immigrant groups in terms of cultural distance measures such as cultural values, physical appearance, language, and religious beliefs.

### *Future Research*

Host community attitudes toward immigrants have been shown within existing research literature to be influential to the successful integration of immigrants into a new society. However, integration and the move toward multiculturalism is not always welcomed by host community members, who may perceive immigrants as a threat to their cultural values, opportunities, and quality of life. Research literature examined within this review aimed to investigate factors contributing to host community prejudice toward immigrant groups such as perceived threat and competition, empowerment, empathy, and ethnic hierarchy. Whilst some of these laboratory research studies have provided insight into intergroup relations between host community and immigrant groups, their external validity is limited. The formation of attitudes in a real life setting is not a stagnant process, with many factors responsible for influencing individual attitudes toward immigrants, making it important to investigate these factors in order to gain further knowledge about the complex nature of the process of integration.

The presence of an ethnic hierarchy highlights the preference by members of the host community for integration of certain immigrant groups over others. This preference appears to be influenced by a host community perception of cultural distance between the host community and the immigrant group, determined according to differences in factors including cultural values, language, and religion. There is a need for future research examining factors contributing to this ethnic hierarchy and subsequent individual and social implications of preferential treatment of immigrant groups. By increasing awareness and understanding of this ethnic hierarchy, it may be

possible to develop appropriate educational programs and policies that strive to establish successful multicultural societies.

### Conclusion

This review has examined the complex nature of immigration by investigating host community attitudes toward immigration, depicting a general reluctance by members of the host society for integration of immigrants. Factors discussed throughout this review as responsible for ingroup reluctance to accept immigrants include reduced cultural awareness and understanding, preconceived misconception and stereotypes, and perceptions of threat to resources and quality of life. Existing research literature has emphasised the presence of an ethnic hierarchy of immigrants, whereby members of the host community view particular groups of immigrants as more favourable than others (Berry & Kalin, 1995). The existence of this ethnic hierarchy is believed to be influenced by perceived cultural similarities (Callan, 1983), with immigrant groups who are culturally similar to the host community perceived as posing little threat to the cultural practices and general well-being of the host society.

As immigration into prosperous nations such as America, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom becomes more appealing to individuals from less developed nations (Betts, 2005), it is important that research continues within this field, allowing for the development and implication of policies and practices that endeavours to improve attitudes and subsequent relationships between host community members and immigrant groups.

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RUNNING HEAD: EXPLORING ACCULTURATION EXPECTATIONS

An Investigation of Differences in Anglo-Australians' Acculturation Expectations toward British  
and Chinese Immigrants.

Carmen Vakis

A report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Bachelor of Arts  
Honours, Faculty of Computing, Health, and Science  
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## Abstract

The ability of immigrants to successfully integrate into a new society is largely dependent on host community acceptance of immigrants, which may be influenced by cultural awareness and understanding, preconceived misconceptions and stereotypes, and perceptions of threat to resources and quality of life. With a sample of 125 undergraduate university students, the present study used the Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale (AEMS; Berry & Kalin, 1995) to examine Anglo-Australians' acculturation expectations of British and Chinese immigrant groups. It was hypothesised that Anglo-Australians' would elicit more positive, integrationist attitudes toward the culturally similar British immigrant group. Findings of the present study did not replicate the findings of Canadian research studies, perhaps due to differences in government policy, public opinion, and societal dynamics. These research findings have applied implications to the improvement of attitudes and subsequent relationships between host community members and immigrants, in order to promote policies and practices that strive to establish multicultural societies.

Author: Carmen Vakis

Supervisor: Dr Justine Dandy

Submitted: October, 2008

## An Investigation of Differences in Anglo-Australians' Acculturation Expectations toward British and Chinese Immigrant Groups.

Immigration is a social process that has occurred throughout history, involving the movement of people from one country to another (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). The process of immigration is influenced by a variety of factors that are subject to change over time (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Betts, 1996; Bulbeck, 2004; Linacre, 2007; Lopez 2005), including employment opportunities, population imbalances, natural disasters, international and national events, and political unrest (Faist, 2000). The study of immigration has been rooted in many disciplines including anthropology, political science, sociology, and psychology (Berry, 2001). A focus on immigration within psychological research has contributed to policy development and management of intergroup relations between the host community and immigrant groups in culturally plural societies (Aboud & Levy, 1999).

Theoretical models that investigate the development of interethnic relations between the dominant host community and immigrant group(s) include those of psychological acculturation, which can be defined as the process where two or more cultural groups experience change in cultural practices as a result of contact experienced between members of each group (Rohmann et al., 2008). One such model of acculturation is Berry's (2003) model of acculturation expectations, which investigates acculturation based upon the relative strengths of identification with the immigrant group's own ethnic heritage and with the cultural practices of the dominant host community (Kosic, Mannetti, & Sam, 2005; Maio, Esses, & Bell, 1994; Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perrault, 1997).

There are two main strategies, termed acculturation strategies, which determine how individuals belonging to host community and immigrant cultural groups decide to acculturate (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). Cultural maintenance refers to the relative strength

and ability of an individual to maintain sufficient identification with their ethnic heritage (Kosic et al., 2005). The cultural contact and participation strategy refers to the strength of the individual's willingness to become involved in the cultural practices of the other cultural group (Kosic et al., 2005). Individual attitudes and behaviours relating to these two acculturation strategies form part of a multicultural ideology (Berry, 2001), that suggests how one cultural group expects other group(s) to acculturate (Berry, 2003). Existing research literature has defined four possible acculturation expectations; assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation (Berry et al., 1989).

Assimilation occurs when immigrants wish to sacrifice their cultural heritage in exchange for interaction with another culture, usually that of the dominant group (Berry, 2005). Alternatively, if the immigrant group wishes to maintain their cultural heritage, preferring to avoid contact with members of other cultural groups (Berry, 2005), the separation expectation is endorsed. Integration is depicted by an immigrant's desire to maintain their cultural heritage whilst engaging in interaction(s) with other cultural groups (Berry, 2005). Marginalisation occurs when immigrants have no desire to engage in relations with others and little interest in maintaining their own cultural heritage (Berry, 2005). Marginalisation is not always classified as an acculturation *strategy*, as it can be forced upon immigrants by members of the dominant host society (Berry, 2005). This type of forced marginalisation may occur through processes of land loss, discrimination, and prejudice, such as with indigenous groups (Betts, 2005).

Previous research has acknowledged that strategies of acculturation do not occur in a vacuum (Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 2003; Berry, 2005; Kosic et al., 2005). Instead, they are subject to the accommodation and expectations of the dominant, receiving or 'host' society (Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 2003), resulting in the conceptualisation of acculturation expectations from the perspective of the dominant cultural group (Berry, 1974; Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Senécal,

1997). Assimilation is defined as 'melting pot' when sought by the dominant group, separation when desired by the dominant group becomes 'segregation'; marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group becomes 'exclusion'; and integration is termed 'multiculturalism' when all ethnocultural groups are included, making cultural diversity a feature of society as a whole (Berry, 1974).

Much research literature has focused on explaining host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups in terms of (host community) perceptions of threat from members of immigrant groups (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan et al., 2005). This perception of threat may arise out of perceived competition for resources, which can lead host community members to believe that immigrants pose a serious threat to the economic, political, and social practices of society, as well as threatening individual's quality of life (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Bobo, 1988; Brown & Lopez, 2001; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Host community perceptions of threat may also be influenced by the presence of negative stereotypes toward specific immigrant groups within society (Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991; Stephan, Ageyev, Coates-Shrider, Stephan, & Abalakina, 1994; Stephan et al., 2005). Within the literature, these stereotypes have been attributed as causing host community prejudice toward particular immigrant groups (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Osbeck, Moghaddam, & Perreault, 1997; Stangor et al., 1991).

Using a sample of 142 undergraduate university student participants, Stephan et al. (2005) examined the effect that negative stereotypes had upon host community attitudes toward immigrants, hypothesising that such stereotypes would be influenced by factors of perceived threat and race of the immigrant group. Stephan et al. examined the influence of these factors by administering participants a questionnaire that contained questions relating to a newspaper article they had been asked to read. Stephan et al (2005) administered a number of variations of the



newspaper article, which created a positive, negative, or neutral stereotype toward a particular immigrant group.

Stephan et al. (2005) found that the presence of negative stereotypes toward particular immigrant groups led to an increase in negative attitudes toward these groups. However, it was also found that creating positive stereotypes toward immigrant groups did not increase positive attitudes toward these groups, providing evidence to suggest that negative information about specific immigrant groups is likely to be more extensively processed and retained than positive trait information (Stephan et al., 2005; Ybarra, Stephan, & Schaberg, 2000). Stephan et al. (2005) also found that race of the immigrant group did not have a significant influence upon host community attitudes, suggesting that differences in beliefs between the host community and immigrant groups amongst university students, are more influential determinants of negative attitudes toward immigrant groups than race (Triandis & Davis, 1965). Stephan et al. (2005) suggested that the ability of negative stereotypes to influence attitudes toward immigrants is embedded in their ability to develop negative expectations of immigrant group behaviour, which may lead to host community perceptions of threat when interacting with specific immigrant groups (Allen, 1996; Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Ybarra et al., 2000).

Researchers have examined the existence of an ethnic hierarchy, which depicts host community preference for the immigration of particular immigrant groups over others (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Early research using a Canadian sample found that although the majority of host community citizens did not encourage the general process of immigration (Callan, 1983; Simon & Lynch, 1999), immigrants from Western and Northern European countries were viewed more positively by individuals from the host majority than immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe or from non-European backgrounds (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Although more recent research findings have depicted a decrease in opposition toward immigration in Australia (Betts, 2005),

statistics taken from both Australian Election Studies (AES) and the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA), have shown various patterns of preference of immigrants to Australia (Betts, 2005). It appears that Anglo-Australians have a preference for English-speaking migrants of European and Oceania (New Zealand) heritage (Betts, 2005; Linacre, 2007). Migrants from the Middle East and from Asia are least favoured by Anglo-Australians (Betts, 2005; Linacre, 2007). However, it should be acknowledged that perceptions of migrants of Middle Eastern heritage has been largely influenced by world events of terrorism, resulting in the formation of negative stereotypes toward people from the Middle East (Lopez, 2005).

Research involving Canadian (Berry & Kalin, 1995) and European (van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, & Hewstone, 1996) samples has found group preferences in host community acculturation expectations toward immigrants (Berry & Kalin, 1995), whereby Canadian host community members exhibited a preference for immigrants from France over immigrants from Haiti (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Such group preferences appear to influence the endorsement of particular acculturation expectations for certain immigrant groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995; van Oudenhoven et al., 1996). For instance, host community members were more likely to expect immigrants from France to integrate, whereas immigrants from Haiti were expected to separate themselves from the new society (Berry & Kalin, 1995). An investigation of the factors that contribute to these ethnic preferences is yet to have eventuated (Bourhis, 1994), although it has been suggested that preference for particular immigrant groups may exist due to a perceived cultural similarity between the dominant and immigrant groups (Kalin & Berry, 1996).

Australian research has demonstrated the presence of ethnic hierarchy or preference for ethnic groups, such as a preference for immigrants from Britain and New Zealand over immigrants from the Middle East and Asia (Linacre, 2007). In order to further examine and explain the presence of this ethnic hierarchy within an Australian context, Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, and

McDonald (2004) administered surveys relating to attitudes toward different immigrant groups into Australia to a sample of 5,056 individuals residing in New South Wales and Queensland.

Dunn et al.'s. (2004) research study showed that the majority of participants had a preference for the immigration of particular ethnic groups, such as immigrants from European countries whose beliefs and values were similar to those of Australia. Dunn et al. (2004) found this perception to be more prominent in people over the age of 65 and those who were identified as having limited tertiary education. Although males were generally found to exhibit tolerant attitudes toward immigrants, they also depicted the highest opposition to marriage between Australian-born individuals and individuals from immigrant groups (Dunn et al., 2004). Dunn et al. (2004) suggested that racial discrimination emerges out of an ideology of separate and distinct racial groups (Brown, 1984; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). This ideology is sustained and embedded into people's belief systems by exclusionary expressions of national identity by public figures including politicians and community leaders (Miles, 1989), and emotive portrayals of specific cultural groups by sources such as the media (Dunn et al., 2004).

As immigration to prosperous nations such as America, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom becomes more appealing to individuals from other nations (Betts, 2005), it is important that research within this field continues to develop further understanding of the nature of host community acculturation expectations of immigrants. With this increased knowledge, a more complex understanding of the nature of intergroup relations between the host community and immigrant groups may be achieved. The present study used Berry's (2003) acculturation model to investigate Anglo-Australian acculturation expectations toward British and Chinese immigrant groups, which are two of the five largest immigrant groups settling in Australia (Linacre, 2007). It is expected that the results of the present study should reflect previous research, demonstrating Anglo-Australians' acculturation expectations of British immigrants to be focused on more

positive aspects such as integration, whereas acculturation expectations of Chinese immigrants would be more closely associated with more negative elements such as exclusion and segregation. These differences in acculturation expectations between British and Chinese immigrant groups may be related to ethnic hierarchy research (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Dunn et al., 2004), which may be explained in terms of cultural distance measures (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

The concept of an ethnic hierarchy, whereby certain immigrant groups are favoured over others has been well supported through the literature, although the majority of these studies have neglected to examine why this hierarchy exists (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Dunn et al., 2004; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1996). A more complete understanding of this hierarchy may be obtained through further examination of host community attitudes toward particular immigrant groups in terms of cultural distance measures such as cultural values, physical appearance, language, and religious beliefs (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). It is important to examine factors contributing to host community acculturation expectations within the Australian context (Betts, 1996, 2005; Bulbeck, 2004; Lopez, 2005). The study explored how culturally different Australians perceive immigrant groups to be in comparison to the dominant Australian cultural group, in order to discover whether host community acculturation expectations toward specific immigrant groups differ as a function of cultural distance. The present study investigated this with a sample of undergraduate university students.

The present study hypothesised that host community acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups will be more profound when the immigrant group is specified than when they are referred to as a general category. In particular, I proposed that British immigrants will be more readily accepted and encouraged by the Anglo-Australian host community to integrate into their new society, through the endorsement of the multiculturalism acculturation expectation. Conversely, the present study suggested that Chinese immigrants will be met with more negative

acculturation expectations of melting pot, exclusion, and segregation by members of the host community. Furthermore, I hypothesised that such differences in host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups may be explained in terms of the four measures of cultural distance, these being; cultural values, physical appearance, language, and religious beliefs. It is believed that the more similar the immigrant group is to the host community, the more likely members of the host community will endorse positive acculturation expectations that encourage integration into the host society.

## Method

### *Research Design*

The present quantitative study utilised a quasi-experimental design to investigate whether Anglo-Australians' acculturation expectations vary according to the target immigrant group (British immigrants, Chinese immigrants, and immigrants as a general category). The study employed a mixed design, with all participants exposed to the general immigrant category and randomly assigned to either the British immigrant or Chinese immigrant target group. The dependent variable of acculturation expectations was scored according to four dimensions of melting pot, segregation, exclusion, and multiculturalism.

### *Participants*

The sample consisted of 125 participants, of which 42 participants were male and 83 participants were female. Participants were undergraduate university students. Participants were randomly assigned to either the British immigrant (51.2%) or the Chinese immigrant (48.8%) target group. The age of participants ranged from 17 to 60 years with a mean age of 28.13 years ( $SD=12.43$ ). The highest level of education that participants' mothers had achieved varied, with

the highest proportion having completed grade school or some high school (28%), followed by completing a university degree (19.2%), completing high school (18.4%), attending some university (10.4%), technical or community college (9.6%), and post graduate degree, and other forms of academic achievement that do not fit into one of the six categories provided (7.2%).

Participants came from a range of religious backgrounds, with the highest proportion identified as having no religious affiliation (40%), followed by Catholic (20.8%), other types of unspecified religious beliefs (18.4%), Protestant (17.6%), and Buddhist, Orthodox, Hindu, or Jewish religious beliefs (0.8%).

### *Materials*

Participants were provided with a questionnaire package that included a written information sheet and consent form, providing background information outlining the project's general aims (see Appendices A and B). The questionnaire consisted of a number of scales, including the Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale (AEMS; Berry & Kalin, 1995; see Appendices C, D, and E), which measures the construct of acculturation expectations and has been shown by previous research to have demonstrated sufficient reliability and validity within a Canadian context (Kalin & Berry, 1996) and an European context (Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud, & Hewstone, 1996). An example question within this scale, adapted to the Australian context would be: 'I feel that British immigrants should adopt Australian cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own'. The AEMS consists of 16 items for each of the three target groups, covering domains of cultural traditions, language, social activities, and friends. The response scale for each of these questions is a five point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. In the present study, the AEMS was completed for: a) immigrants in general; b) British immigrants to Australia; c) Chinese immigrants to Australia. The 'immigrants

in general' category acted as an initial anchoring point and was completed by all participants, and participants were randomly assigned to complete either the British immigrant or Chinese immigrant target groups.

Additional questions aimed to explore perceived cultural distance (see Appendix F and Appendix G) between Anglo-Australian culture and British and Chinese immigrant groups respectively. Participants were asked to rate on a five point Likert scale ranging from 'no difference' to 'very different', how culturally different they perceived themselves to be to each immigrant group across items of cultural values, physical appearance, language, and religious beliefs.

In addition, the study included a measure of social desirability (the Crowne- Marlowe, Social Desirability Scale). The present study used Ballard's (1992) 11 item variation of the Crowne-Marlowe (1960) Social Desirability Scale (see Appendix H), to depict whether participant's responses partially reflected a need to provide socially desirable answers in order to avoid social consequence (Konstabel, Aavik, & Allik, 2006). The short form of this scale has demonstrated reliability and validity through consistent research results and the non-modified format of all questions from the original social desirability scale (Beretvas, Meyers, & Leite, 2002). The scale consists of true-false questions that are defined as attribution items, from which the participant is awarded with one point for a 'true' answer and denial items, for which the participant is awarded with one point for a 'false' answer. An example question within this scale of an attribution item is; 'No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener'. An example question within this scale of a denial item is; 'I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me'.

At the end of the questionnaire was a short demographic section, which included questions relating to participants' age, gender, country of birth, parents' country of birth, religion, mother's level of education, and self-identified ethnic group (see Appendix I).

### *Procedure*

Participants were volunteers from the Edith Cowan University student population. There were two methods of recruitment. Firstly, participants were recruited from the School of Psychology and Social Science Research Student Participant Register, where they were contacted by email. The email briefly outlined the project's aims and procedure, carefully outlining the voluntary nature and confidentiality of the project. If students wished to participate in the study, a mutually convenient location such as a room within the School of Psychology building or a meeting room in the Edith Cowan University library was arranged for the potential participant to partake in the research study.

Participants were also recruited through undergraduate psychology lectures at Edith Cowan University, once permission had been obtained from the unit coordinator and lecturer. Potential participants in lectures were briefly informed of the general aims of the research study prior to the questionnaires being handed out. The questionnaire took participants approximately 10 minutes to complete. All questionnaires remained de-identified and at no point were participants required to provide personal contact details as no follow-up study was associated with the current project.



## Results

### *Scale Reliability*

Data from five participants were excluded from the analysis as they were identified as multivariate outliers. Thus the analyses were conducted with a total of 120 participants.

The cultural distance and Australian identity scales both demonstrated a high degree of internal consistency with Cronbach's  $\alpha = .90$  and  $.95$ , respectively. The Crowne- Marlowe, Social Desirability Scale had relatively high internal consistency, represented by a Cronbach's  $\alpha$  value of  $.70$ .

The Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale (AEMS; Berry & Kalin, 1995) was analysed by calculating a total score for each of the four acculturation expectations of melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation. Questions on the AEMS were separated into four domains, these being cultural traditions, language, social activities; and friends, of which one of the four questions in each section was associated with each of the four acculturation expectations.

The acculturation expectations of melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation within the 'immigrants in general' section of the acculturation expectation scale had internal consistency values shown by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .59, .60, .49$ , and  $.38$  respectively. However, internal consistencies were generally higher when a specific immigrant group (country of origin) was specified. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  values for the four acculturation expectations of melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation within the British immigrant group were  $.58, .63, .56$ , and  $.44$ , respectively. Internal consistency of the four acculturation expectations of melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation for the Chinese immigrant group showed Cronbach's  $\alpha = .52, .79, .68$ , and  $.60$  respectively.

*Comparing Acculturation Expectations across Target Immigrant Groups*

An investigation of skewness and kurtosis for the three categories (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants) showed some deviations within the distributions. There was a high degree of negative skew for the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism in the Chinese target group (-.83), whilst skewness within the multiculturalism dimension for the British target group was only slightly negatively skewed (-.01). The British target group had a moderate negative skew for the segregation acculturation expectation (-.38), whilst the skew of the immigrants in general and the Chinese target group for this acculturation expectation was moderately positive (.37, .20).

An investigation of descriptive statistics for the key variables showed participants were most inclined to endorse the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism, regardless of the immigrant group's country of origin (see Table 1). The sample mean for the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism for the immigrant in general group was 16.07 ( $SD = 2.30$ ). For the British and Chinese immigrant groups the sample mean for the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism was 16.22 ( $SD = 1.90$ ) and 16.26 ( $SD = 2.51$ ) respectively. When comparing sample means of host community acculturation expectations of British and Chinese immigrant groups, higher values on the exclusion and segregation dimensions appeared for British immigrants, whilst attitudes toward Chinese immigrants showed a high sample mean for the melting pot acculturation expectation.

Table 1

*Acculturation Expectations of British and Chinese target Immigrant Groups (means and standard deviations).*

	Immigrant Group		
	British	Chinese	Immigrants in general
Melting Pot	8.32 (1.87)	8.51 (2.11)	8.65 (2.20)
Multiculturalism	16.22 (1.90)	16.26 (2.51)	16.07 (2.30)
Exclusion	7.73 (2.25)	6.91 (2.25)	6.81 (2.08)
Segregation	7.70 (1.69)	7.16 (2.15)	7.13 (1.78)

#### *Demographic Characteristics; Age and Gender*

Bivariate correlations were conducted between age and acculturation expectations for each of the target immigrant groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants,). Bivariate correlations between age and each of the acculturation expectations for the immigrants in general group were not significant. There was a significant negative correlation between age and the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism for the British target group,  $r(120) = -.25$ . This correlation suggests that peoples' attitudes toward multiculturalism (of British immigrants) become less favourable with age. Correlations for the Chinese target group showed a

significant negative correlation between the melting pot acculturation expectation and age,  $r(120) = -.26$ , suggesting that Anglo-Australians' attitudes toward the integration of Chinese immigrants become more conservative with age.

An investigation of descriptive statistics for each of the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) and gender, with all three target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants), showed women to have less conservative acculturation expectations than men (see Table 2). For example, when looking at the immigrant in general target group, women were more likely to endorse segregation than men, but also were more supportive of the multiculturalism expectation than men. The sample means for the segregation acculturation expectation for males ( $n = 40$ ) and females ( $n = 80$ ) within the immigrants in general target was 6.63 ( $SD = 1.78$ ) and 7.38 ( $SD = 1.73$ ), respectively. The sample means for the multiculturalism acculturation expectation for males ( $n = 40$ ) and females ( $n = 80$ ) within the immigrants in general target was 15.93 ( $SD = 2.42$ ) and 16.14 ( $SD = 2.24$ ), respectively.

Further examination of the relationship between gender and acculturation expectations for each of the three target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants) was conducted using the independent samples t-test. The results of these analyses found significant gender differences in the endorsement of segregation for both 'immigrants in general',  $t(120) = 2.22, p < .05$  and the British target group,  $t(120) = 2.96, p < .05$ . These analyses showed that women scored higher in the segregation acculturation expectation on the AEMS than men in both the immigrants in general and the British immigrant target groups. The independent samples t-test showed no significant differences between gender and the segregation acculturation expectation for the Chinese target group,  $t(120) = 1.18, p > .05$ .

Table 2

*Gender Differences within Acculturation Expectations of British and Chinese target Immigrant Groups (means and standard deviations).*

	Acculturation Expectations			
	Melting Pot	Multiculturalism	Exclusion	Segregation
Immigrants in General ( <i>N</i> = 120)				
Male ( <i>n</i> = 40)	8.83 (1.75)	15.93 (2.42)	6.65 (2.15)	6.63 (1.78)
Female ( <i>n</i> = 80)	8.56 (2.40)	16.14 (2.24)	6.89 (2.04)	7.38 (1.73)
British Immigrants ( <i>N</i> = 63)				
Male ( <i>n</i> = 21)	8.52 (1.99)	16.14 (1.85)	7.05 (1.80)	6.86 (1.65)
Female ( <i>n</i> = 42)	8.21 (1.83)	16.26 (1.94)	8.07 (2.39)	8.12 (1.56)
Chinese Immigrants ( <i>N</i> = 57)				
Male ( <i>n</i> = 19)	8.32 (2.33)	16.32 (2.77)	6.53 (2.04)	6.68 (2.16)
Female ( <i>n</i> = 39)	8.61 (2.01)	16.24 (2.41)	7.11 (2.36)	7.39 (2.14)

Correlational analyses were conducted between each of the four acculturation expectations and the Crowne- Marlowe, Social Desirability Scale for each target group (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants). The results of this correlational analysis found there to be no significant correlations between the four acculturation expectations and the Crowne-Marlow Social Desirability Scale for each of the target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants).

Further analysis using a one-way ANOVA was conducted between scores on the Crowne-Marlow Social Desirability Scale for each of the target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants). The results of these analyses were significant for the exclusion acculturation expectation in the immigrants in general target group,  $F(11, 119) = 2.73, p < .05$ , and for the multiculturalism acculturation expectation in the Chinese immigrant target group,  $F(10, 56) = 2.38, p < .05$ . The analyses did not elicit any significant results between acculturation expectations and the Crowne-Marlow Social Desirability Scale for British immigrant group. These results show that participants were likely to give what they perceived to be socially desirable responses, which favoured the exclusion of immigrants when the immigrant group was not disclosed and favoured multiculturalism between immigrants and the host society when questions on the acculturation expectation scale were directed at a Chinese immigrant group.

#### *Differences in Acculturation Expectations of British and Chinese Immigrant Groups*

Bivariate correlations were conducted between the Cultural Distance Scale and each of the four acculturation expectations for each target group (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants). There were no significant correlations between each of the four acculturation expectations and the Cultural Distance Scale for each of the target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants). An independent samples t-

test was also conducted between cultural distance and each of the four acculturation expectations for each target group (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants). These analyses did not elicit any significant results, suggesting that the relationship between cultural distance and acculturation expectations in relation to the three target groups used in the present study is too small to be of any significance. As a consequence of these findings, the cultural distance factor was not included in any of the main analyses.

Several one-way ANOVAS were conducted between the acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) and the specific immigrant target groups (British and Chinese), to investigate whether there were significant differences between acculturation expectations for each of the specified target groups. Only the exclusion acculturation expectation showed a significant difference between the two target groups,  $F(1,119) = 3.94, p < .05$ .

A repeated measures analysis of variance was conducted between immigrants in general target group, and the British and Chinese immigrant groups, using each of the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation). The variables of age, gender, and social desirability, were included in the main analysis, as background analyses had shown these variables to be significantly related to acculturation expectations for the target groups (immigrants in general, British immigrants, and Chinese immigrants).

An investigation of the means and standard deviations for each of the four acculturation expectations, for the immigrants in general and British immigrant target groups, showed some variation for the exclusion and segregation acculturation expectations between the British immigrants, 7.73 ( $SD = 2.25$ ) and 7.70 ( $SD = 1.69$ ) and immigrants in general category, 6.75 ( $SD = 1.92$ ) and 7.13 ( $SD = 1.70$ ), respectively (see Figure 1).

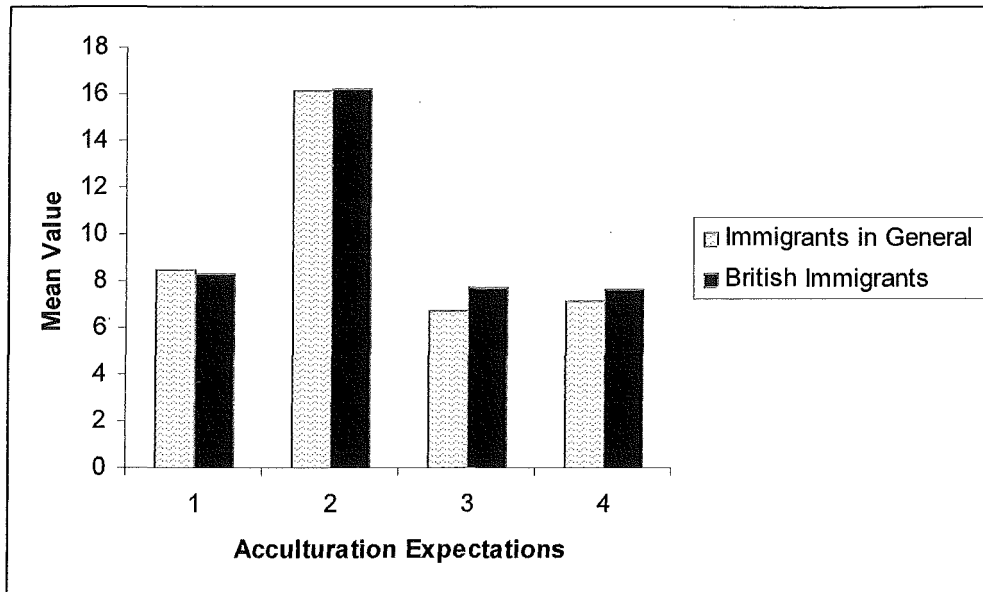


Figure 1

*Comparison of the Means of Acculturation Expectations (Immigrants in General and British Target Group).*

The repeated measures analysis of variance between the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) and the target groups (immigrants in general and British immigrant group) showed a significant main effect for target group,  $F(1, 24) = 11.38, p < .05$ . A significant interaction was also found between acculturation expectation (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) and target group (immigrants in general and British immigrant group) was also found,  $F(3, 24) = 4.26, p < .05$ . These results show that an interaction amongst the immigrants in general and British immigrant target groups occurred between the melting pot and multiculturalism acculturation expectations. The multiculturalism acculturation expectation had the highest response in comparison to the three other acculturation expectations (melting pot, exclusion, and segregation), in both the immigrants in general and the



British immigrant target groups. With the exception of the melting pot acculturation expectation, participants responded higher to questions on the AEMS when asked about British immigrants then when asked the same questions about an unspecified immigrant group.

An investigation of the means and standard deviations for each of the four acculturation expectations, for the immigrants in general and Chinese immigrant target groups, showed the highest mean value occurred with the multiculturalism acculturation expectation, 16.26 (*SD* = 2.51) and 16.00 (*SD* = 2.29), respectively. When comparing the immigrants in general and Chinese target groups, variation between the mean values for acculturation expectations did not show as much variation as the difference observed between the immigrants in general and British target groups (see Figure 2).

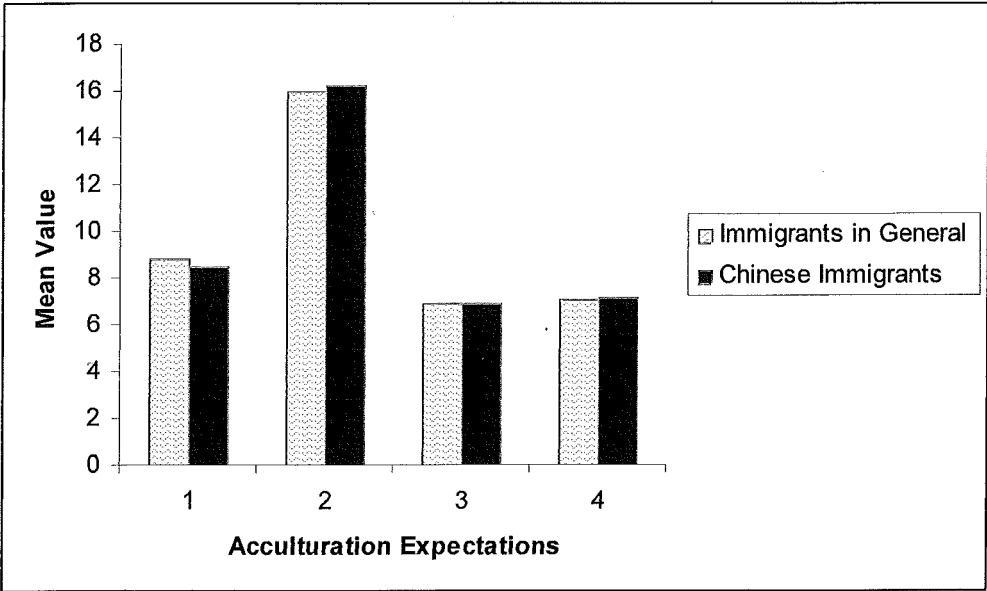


Figure 2  
*Comparison of the Means of Acculturation Expectations (Immigrants in General and Chinese Target Group).*

The repeated measures analysis of variance between the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) and the target group (immigrants in general and Chinese immigrant group) showed a significant main effect for acculturation expectations,  $F(3, 18) = 225.65, p < .05$ . There was no significant interaction between immigrants in general and Chinese immigrant target groups and the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation). These results show that scores on the AEMS for each of the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation) were higher when questions referred to the Chinese immigrant group than when participants were required to answer questions that referred to an unspecified immigrant group. Both the immigrants in general and Chinese immigrant target groups showed the highest scores on the AEMS for the multiculturalism acculturation expectations, followed by the melting pot, segregation, and exclusion acculturation expectations.

### Discussion

Ethnic hierarchy research within Australia has shown that specific immigrant groups such as those from the United Kingdom and Eastern European countries are favoured over immigrants of Asian and Middle Eastern origin. Based on ethnic hierarchy research (Kosic et al., 2005), the present study hypothesised that Anglo-Australians would be more opposed to the integration of Chinese immigrants than British immigrants into Australia. However, the findings of the present study did not support this hypothesis, displaying a high preference for the integration of both British and Chinese immigrants into Australian society, observed by high scores on the multiculturalism acculturation expectation.

Australia has been recognised in previous research as a multicultural society, whereby Anglo-Australians are encouraged through government policy and programs to accept aspects of a

range of other cultures (Betts, 2005; Bulbeck, 2004; Callan, 1983; Dunn et al., 2004; Lopez, 2005). However, this acceptance of minority cultures within Australia has been documented as shifting away from cultural pluralism, whereby host community members are willing to preserve and encourage the growth of the ethnic structures of others (Callan, 1983). Anglo-Australians' interactions with immigrant groups is largely dependant on the acceptance of safe ethnic cultural elements such as food and dance (Betts, 2005; Bulbeck, 2004), whilst safeguarding Anglo-Australian traditions and values by exhibiting ignorance, insensitivity, and non-recognition of more important cultural aspects of immigrant groups, including language and religious beliefs (Callan, 1983). This approach to multiculturalism differs greatly to other host communities, such as Canada, whose attitudes toward specific immigrant groups have been examined using a similar research design to the current study (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin & Berry, 1996; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004).

Canada has been defined as a double status host community, whereby the host majority differs both linguistically and in their cultural identity within parts of Canadian society (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). It has been suggested that this type of divided society makes host society members more aware of cultural differences between themselves and immigrant groups, which in order to protect host community traditions and values from weakening, may lead to an increase in negative acculturation expectations toward culturally different immigrant groups (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Piontkowski et al., 2000). The absence of differences within the dimensions of the Australian host community may have contributed to the inability of the present study to replicate previous research findings.

The current study found a significant difference in the exclusion acculturation expectation between British and Chinese immigrant groups, indicating that Anglo-Australians evaluated the relative costs and benefits of immigrants from Britain more negatively than immigrants from

China. This finding does not support the hypothesis tested by the current study, which suggested that British immigrants would be evaluated more positively by Anglo-Australians than Chinese immigrants. Previous research has suggested the presence of a change in attitudinal position within Australian society, whereby non-English speaking immigrant groups have begun to be evaluated more positively by members of the host community (Betts, 2005; Brown & Lopez, 2001). The increase in negative acculturation expectations toward English speaking migrants has been explained in previous literature using the similarity-differentiation hypothesis (Brown & Lopez, 2001).

The similarity-differentiation hypothesis (Brown & Lopez, 2001) suggested that immigrant groups who are culturally similar to the host society pose a greater threat to the host society's identity than immigrant groups who have a distinctly different cultural identity. The similarity-differentiation hypothesis proposed that when the immigrant group is culturally similar to the host community, it becomes harder to differentiate between the two groups, making the host society vulnerable to experiencing an insidious change in cultural beliefs, traditions, and customs (Brown, 1984; Brown & Lopez, 2001). This perceived threat of imminent cultural change has been associated with a desire from members of the host society to create social distance between the immigrant group and themselves (Brown & Lopez, 2001; Osbeck et al., 1997; Rohmann et al., 2008). The tendency to endorse the acculturation expectation of exclusion toward British immigrants observed in the present study may be an attempt by Anglo-Australians to protect Australia's traditions and values from immigrants who they perceive value the maintenance of their own cultural traditions at the expense of the Australian host society.

The second hypothesis tested by the present study, proposed that perceived cultural distance between the immigrant group and the host community would influence host community members' acculturation expectations toward specific immigrant groups. It was thought that higher

levels of dissimilarity between the host community and the immigrant group would lead to more negative acculturation expectations, created out of a belief that out-groups who are more dissimilar in aspects such as physical appearance, language, cultural values, and religious beliefs would be perceived as having a higher symbolic threat to the lifestyle of members of the host community (Rohmann et al., 2008). The results of the present study did not support this research hypothesis, instead finding a non-significant relationship between the cultural distance measure and the four acculturation expectations (melting pot, multiculturalism, exclusion, and segregation).

The absence of difference found in the present study when investigating acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups differing in cultural similarity to the host society, may be attributed to a general acceptance of immigrant groups in Australia, influenced by Australian beliefs and value systems, that have been expressed through Government policy, previous research literature, and multicultural programs (Bulbeck, 2004; Callan, 1983; Dunn et al., 2004). These programs value equal opportunity and the immigration of people from a vast range of cultural backgrounds, provided that immigrants are prepared to accept and value aspects of Australian culture (Bulbeck, 2004).

Previous research has suggested that the age of host community members may affect acculturation expectations of immigrant groups (Callan, 1983; Dunn et al., 2004). Although the age of participants within the present study ranged from 17 to 60, the age of the sample was highly concentrated within the 18 to 34 age-group. From the high scores on the multiculturalism expectation in comparison to the three other acculturation expectations within the present study, it may be suggested that younger people have more positive attitudes toward the acculturation of immigrant groups. This finding supports previous research, which has attributed this increase in positive attitudes by younger individuals to factors including contact with various cultural groups

and changes within the education system that have aimed to increase awareness and acceptance of different cultural traditions and values (Callan, 1983).

The relatively small difference in Anglo-Australians' acculturation expectations of British and Chinese immigrant groups found in the present study, may be attributed to a perception that members of the host community may not interpret the preferential ethnic hierarchy of immigrants to necessarily mean that immigrant groups should acculturate differently to one another (Betts, 1996; Linacre, 2007). Dunn et al. (2004) suggested that individuals' belief in the presence of an ethnic hierarchy of immigrant groups was more prominent with older people (24 percent of people aged over 65), than with the younger generation (seven percent of people aged 18 to 34). Furthermore, Dunn et al. (2004) found that older people were more likely to suggest that particular immigrant groups do not belong in Australia. The opposition toward integration of immigrants into Australian society exhibited by the older generations may be attributed to the legacy of past government policy and beliefs, including the 'White Australia policy' and the hierarchical nature of society that past policy used to define Australia's national identity (Dunn et al., 2004).

Previous research has suggested that host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups differ between males and females, with females less conservative than men when eliciting both positive and negative acculturation expectations toward immigrants (Dunn et al., 2004). Dunn et al. (2004) examined gender differences in host community acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups by investigating host community attitudes toward racial inter-marriage. Dunn et al. (2004) found that males were more intolerant of racial inter-marriage, depicted by the higher frequency of males who favoured racial exclusion between members of the host community and immigrant groups. The relationship between gender and host community acculturation expectations of immigrants in the present study partially supports Dunn et al.'s (2004) research conclusions. Although the present study found that women were less conservative

than men, scoring higher on the AEMS for the acculturation expectations of multiculturalism and segregation, men were found to be more exclusionist toward immigrants than women.

Previous research that investigated host community acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups has suggested that a host community preference for the multiculturalism acculturation expectation may be attributed to socially desirable answers (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). The provision of socially desirable answers by members of the host community has been attributed to a desire to have contact with different cultural groups, an appreciation for their own culture, and/or a need to ensure that their own cultural traditions and values remain dominant within the host society (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Betts, 1996; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Kalin & Berry, 1996; van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). The present study used Ballard's (1992) version of the Crowne- Marlowe (1960), Social Desirability Scale in order to investigate whether host community responses on the AEMS was influenced by participants' desire to give what they perceived to be socially desirable answers. In accordance with previous research findings, the present study showed a tendency for socially desirable responding for the multiculturalism acculturation expectation in the Chinese immigrant target group. However, the present study also found that socially desirable responding was likely when participants were asked questions on the AEMS about the exclusion acculturation expectation for the immigrants in general target group. This finding may be attributed to a tendency by host community members to wish to exclude immigrants whose cultural background is an unknown entity (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), in order to protect the cultural traditions and values of the host society.

It is important to acknowledge that the present study was not without its limitations.

Although the AEMS (Berry & Kalin, 1995) has been shown to be a reliable and valid measure of host community attitudes toward immigrants (Maio et al., 1994; Piontkowski et al., 2000), the current study's scale reliabilities of items within this scale, such as the segregation expectation for

the immigrants in general target group, were rather low. The low values of scale reliability in the present study were particularly evident with the immigrant in general target group, which may have occurred as a measurement effect, whereby participants found it more difficult to answer questions about immigrants when they were not asked to look at a specific immigrant group. Alternatively, the low scale reliabilities may have been partially influenced by the sample size of the current study, as previous research that has used the same or similar scales used a larger sample size of approximately 800 participants or more (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Piontkowski et al., 2000). Such a large sample size was unobtainable in the present study due to time constraints.

The AEMS (Berry & Kalin, 1995) used in the present study is arguably the most widely recognised and used measure of acculturation expectations throughout the literature (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1989; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Piontkowski et al., 2000). However, the AEMS is not without fault, having been criticised in previous literature for its simplistic nature, through its examination of acculturation expectations in terms of only four factors of language, culture, friends, and social groups (Rudmin, 2003; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Rudmin, Trimpop, Kryl, & Boski, 1987). The concept that immigrants may keep or abandon their own cultural identity at the expense of accepting the cultural identity of the host majority was rejected by Rudmin (2003), who suggested that four generic forms of acculturation inadequately represent how individuals accept and/or adapt to new cultural beliefs, values, and practices (Rudmin et al., 1987). The use of the AEMS in the present study was necessary to determine whether previous research findings could be replicated in a different cultural context. However, it should be acknowledged that by not examining acculturation expectations in terms of factors including subcultures and/or acquisition of cultural skills, the application of the present study's findings to a real-life setting is limited (Rudmin & Ahmadzedah, 2001).



Although the sample was collected at random, obtaining a relatively widespread range of ages from males and females, all participants were undergraduate first and second year psychology students at Edith Cowan University. Previous research has indicated that there is a strong relationship between education and attitudes toward immigrant groups (Betts, 1996), whereby university-educated individuals appear more favourable to immigration than those who have not pursued a university education (Berry et al., 1977; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). Previous research has suggested that the universalistic values of university-educated individuals may also influence their responses on an acculturation expectation scale, making them more likely to favour the multiculturalism expectation (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Betts, 1996, Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). The findings of the current study may reflect the progressively positive attitudes toward immigrant groups that emerges with university-educated individuals, rather than the general consensus of Anglo-Australians' acculturation expectations of immigrants. Consequently, the ability of the current study to generalise its research findings to a broader population of various educational backgrounds is limited. Perhaps future research would benefit in examining host community acculturation expectations of immigrants using a sample of university students, skilled workers, white-collar workers, and those currently unemployed.

The applied implication of the current research project are rather complex, as the formation of attitudes in a real life setting is not a stagnant process, with many factors such as individuals' age, gender, educational background, and personal experiences responsible for influencing host community attitudes toward immigrants. It is important that future research investigates the influence of these and other contributing factors in order to gain further knowledge about the complex nature of relationships between the host community and specific immigrant groups. Although an ethnic hierarchy of preference for the immigration of certain immigrant groups over others has been shown to exist (Kosic et al., 2005), the influence of this hierarchy and how it

affects host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups should be further examined. It appears that the relationship between the ethnic hierarchy and host community acculturation expectations toward immigrant groups is rather complex, as members of the host community do not appear to expect immigrant groups at opposite ends of the ethnic hierarchy to acculturate differently to one another.

Integration and the move toward multiculturalism of immigrant groups into a host society is not always welcomed by host community members, who may perceive immigrants as a threat to their cultural values, opportunities, and quality of life. However, since integration has direct implications for intergroup relations between the host society and immigrant groups, it is important that future research investigates perceptions toward integration, both from a host community and immigrant group perspective, taking care to examine factors that influence the endorsement of positive or negative attitudes toward a particular cultural group. By examining external influences upon acculturation expectations such as government policy, media stories, and public opinions, a greater understanding of the complex nature of attitudes toward culturally different groups may be obtained, allowing for the development and implication of policies and practices that improves attitudes and relationships between host community members and immigrant groups.

In conclusion, from the findings of the present study, as well as conclusions of previous research, host community acculturation expectations of immigrant groups appears to be a complex process that is influenced by a variety of factors that may include, gender, age, educational background, public opinion, government policy, and media attention. The present research study attempted to replicate the findings of previous research using a different contextual setting, although differences between government policy, public opinion, and the dynamics within Australian and Canadian society contributed to an observable difference in research findings.

Despite evidence from ethnic hierarchy research, which suggested that English speaking migrants are preferred to migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, Australia has seen a shift toward more positive attitudes toward non-English speaking migrants, perhaps as a response to policy development and personal interaction with migrants from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, it appears from the findings of the present study that Anglo-Australians perceive English speaking migrants, the majority of which come from skilled backgrounds, as a threat to Australia's cultural traditions and values, as well as to their employment opportunities and subsequent way of life. It is important that future research continues to examine factors that influence acculturation expectations of immigrant groups, in an attempt to further understand the dynamics that contribute to positive intergroup relations between members of the host community and immigrant groups. By increasing awareness and understanding of intergroup dynamics between host community and immigrant groups, it may be possible to develop appropriate educational programs and policies that strive to encourage the integration of people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds into Australian society.

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## Appendix A

*Information letter to participants***“Attitudes Toward Immigration”**

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Carmen Vakis and I would greatly appreciate your participation in a research project I am conducting as a requirement of my Honours course in Psychology, at Edith Cowan University. The research project has been approved by the Faculty of Computing, Health, and Science Human Research Ethics Committee at Edith Cowan University.

The purpose of this research project is to examine Australians' attitudes toward immigration and how immigrants adjust to a new culture. In particular, this research project is interested in Anglo-Australian attitudes toward immigration, that is, people who were born in Australia, and are of British heritage.

Participants for this research project have been recruited through the student university population at Edith Cowan University, although it must be emphasised that participation in this research project is completely voluntary and participants may withdraw at anytime without consequence. Participation will involve completing a questionnaire addressing attitudes toward immigrants, social desirability, cultural distance, and some basic demographic questions. The questionnaire is expected to take approximately 20-25 minutes to complete. All completed questionnaires will remain confidential, and will be stored separately to any personally identifiable data.

If you would like to participate in the research study please complete the consent form on the following page before beginning to answer any items on the questionnaire.

If you have any additional questions about the study you may contact the researcher or supervisor on the numbers indicated below. If you would like to speak to an independent person, you may contact Associate Professor Lynne Cohen, the Acting Head of School of Psychology [redacted] or Email- l.cohen@ecu.edu.au)

Thank you for taking your time to read this letter

Researcher

Carmen Vakis

School of Psychology

Edith Cowan University

Tel- [redacted]

Email- cvakis@student.ecu.edu.au

Supervisor

Dr Justine Dandy

School of Psychology

Edith Cowan University

Tel- (08) 6304 5105

Email- j.dandy@ecu.edu.au

## Appendix B

*Informed consent form for participants to complete*

**Please complete this informed consent form before proceeding to answer the questionnaire.**

By signing the informed consent form below, I agree that I have read and understood the information letter, outlining the research project and procedure for participation in the project. I am aware that participation in this project is voluntary and may be withdrawn at anytime without consequence. Furthermore I am aware that all data collected will be confidential and no personally identifying data will be kept with the completed questionnaire.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix C

*Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale*

Immigrants in general

**Cultural Traditions**

	Strongly disagree		Nor sure/ neutral		Strongly agree
1. I feel that immigrants should adopt	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Anglo-Australian cultural traditions					
and not maintain those of their own.					
2. I feel that immigrants should maintain	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
their own cultural traditions but also					
adopt those of Australia.					
3. I feel that it is not important for	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
immigrants either to maintain their own					
cultural traditions or to adapt those of					
Australia.					
4. I feel that immigrants should maintain	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
their own cultural traditions and not adapt					
to those of Australia.					

**Language**

5. It is more important for immigrants to be  
fluent in their own language than in the  
dominant national language of Australia.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
6. It is more important for immigrants to be  
fluent in the dominant national language  
of Australia than in their own language.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
7. It is important for immigrants to be fluent  
in both the dominant national language of  
Australia and in the immigrant's own language.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
8. It is not important for immigrants to be  
fluent either in their own language or in  
the dominant national language of Australia.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐

**Social Activities**

9. Immigrant should engage in social activities  
that involve both Anglo-Australians and their  
own group.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
10. Immigrants should engage in social activities  
that only involve Anglo-Australians.      ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐

11. Immigrants should not engage in either [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 Anglo-Australian or their own group's  
 social activities.

12. Immigrants should engage in social activities [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 that only involve their own group members.

**Friends**

13. Immigrants should only have [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 Anglo-Australian friends.

14. Immigrants should only have friends from the [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 same ethnic background.

15. Immigrants should have both Anglo-Australian [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 friends and friends from the same ethnic  
 background as the immigrant.

16. Immigrants should not have either Anglo- [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]  
 Australian friends or friends from the same  
 ethnic background as the immigrant.

Appendix D

Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale

British immigrant group

Cultural Traditions

	Strongly disagree		Nor sure/ neutral		Strongly agree
1. I feel that British immigrants should adopt  Anglo-Australian cultural traditions  and not maintain British cultural traditions.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
2. I feel that British immigrants should maintain  British cultural traditions but also  adopt those of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
3. I feel that it is not important for  British immigrants either to maintain  British cultural traditions or to adapt those  of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
4. I feel that British immigrants should maintain  British cultural traditions and not adapt  to those of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Language

5. It is more important for British immigrants to be    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
- fluent in their own language than in the
- dominant national language of Australia.
6. It is more important for British immigrants to be    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
- fluent in the dominant national language
- of Australia than in their own language.
7. It is important for British immigrants to be fluent    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
- in both the dominant national language of
- Australia and in the British immigrant's
- own language.
8. It is not important for British immigrants to be    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
- fluent either in their own language or in
- the dominant national language of Australia.

### Social Activities

9. British immigrant should engage in social    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐
- activities that involve both Anglo-Australians
- and British groups.
10. British immigrants should engage in social    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐



activities that only involve Anglo-Australians.

11. British immigrants should not engage in

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

either Anglo-Australian or British group’s social activities.

12. British immigrants should engage in social

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

activities that only involve British group members.

Friends

13. British immigrants should only have

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

Anglo-Australian friends.

14. British immigrants should only have friends

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

from a British ethnic background.

15. British immigrants should have both

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

Anglo-Australian friends and friends from a British background.

16. British immigrants should not have either

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

Anglo-Australian friends or friends from a British background.

Appendix E

*Acculturation Expectation Measurement Scale*

Chinese immigrant group

Cultural Traditions

	Strongly disagree		Nor sure/ neutral		Strongly agree
1. I feel that Chinese immigrants should adopt  Anglo-Australian cultural traditions  and not maintain Chinese cultural traditions.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
2. I feel that Chinese immigrants should maintain  Chinese cultural traditions but also  adopt those of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
3. I feel that it is not important for  Chinese immigrants either to maintain  Chinese cultural traditions or to adapt those  of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
4. I feel that Chinese immigrants should maintain  Chinese cultural traditions and not adapt  to those of Australia.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Language

5. It is more important for Chinese immigrants to    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
be fluent in their own language than in the  
dominant national language of Australia.
6. It is more important for Chinese immigrants to    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
be fluent in the dominant national language  
of Australia than in their own language.
7. It is important for Chinese immigrants to be    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
fluent in both the dominant national language of  
Australia and in the Chinese immigrant's  
own language.
8. It is not important for Chinese immigrants to    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
be fluent either in their own language or in  
the dominant national language of Australia.

**Social Activities**

9. Chinese immigrant should engage in social    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
activities that involve both Anglo-Australians  
and Chinese groups.
10. Chinese immigrants should engage in social    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐    ☐  
activities that only involve Anglo-Australians.

11. Chinese immigrants should not engage in

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

either Anglo-Australian or Chinese group’s

social activities.

12. Chinese immigrants should engage in social

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

activities that only involve Chinese group

members.

**Friends**

13. Chinese immigrants should only have

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

Anglo-Australian friends.

14. Chinese immigrants should only have friends

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

from a Chinese ethnic background.

15. Chinese immigrants should have both

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

Anglo-Australian friends and friends

from a Chinese background.

16. Chinese immigrants should not have either

[ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

Anglo-Australian friends or friends from a

Chinese background.

Appendix F

Cultural distance section of questionnaire

British immigrant group

HOW DIFFERENT DO YOU THINK THE BRITISH CULTURE IS, COMPARED WITH AUSTRALIAN CULTURE? PLEASE INDICATE YOUR RESPONSE USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE.

	No difference at all		Somewhat different		Very different
a. Cultural values	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b. Physical appearance	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c. Language	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d. Religious beliefs	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Appendix G

Cultural distance section of questionnaire

Chinese immigrant group

HOW DIFFERENT DO YOU THINK THE CHINESE CULTURE IS COMPARED WITH AUSTRALIAN CULTURE? PLEASE INDICATE YOUR RESPONSE USING THE FOLLOWING SCALE.

	No difference at all		Somewhat different		Very different
a. Cultural values	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
b. Physical appearance	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
c. Language	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
d. Religious beliefs	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

## Appendix H

*Social Desirability Scale*

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* (please tick) as it pertains to you personally.

	True	False
1. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.	[ ]	[ ]
2. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.	[ ]	[ ]
3. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right	[ ]	[ ]
4. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.	[ ]	[ ]
5. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.	[ ]	[ ]
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.	[ ]	[ ]
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.	[ ]	[ ]
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.	[ ]	[ ]
9. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.	[ ]	[ ]
10. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me.	[ ]	[ ]
11. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.	[ ]	[ ]

## Appendix I

*Demographic Section of Questionnaire*

What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_ years

What is your gender?

☐ Female

☐ Male

In what country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

If you were not born in Australia, how old were you when you came to Australia? \_\_\_\_\_ years

In what country was your mother born? \_\_\_\_\_

In what country was your father born? \_\_\_\_\_

Which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you identify as belonging to? *(please write in below)*

---

What is the highest level of school that your mother has obtained?

☐ Grade school, or some high school

☐ Completed high school

☐ Technical, Community College

☐ Some University

☐ Completed University degree

☐ Post graduate degree

☐ Other (please write in) \_\_\_\_\_

What is your religion?

☐ Buddhist

☐ Christian - Protestant

☐ Greek - Orthodox

☐ Hindu

☐ Other (please write in) \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Muslim

☐ Christian - Catholic

☐ Jewish

☐ No religious affiliation



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